















MESSRS. EDITORS:—Will you allow me a little space in your columns to notice one or two features of the important question which now agitates our country? I do not wish to present any political views; for such would be altogether out of place in your paper; but rather to state the elements of this issue stripped of all political

It is a conflict for power. It is a *strife* between the progressive freemen of the North and the conservative freemen of the South for the sceptre of the nation; and Slavery in the States—Slavery in the District and Columbia and Slavery in the Territories are the alphabet, or signs, with which the problem is to be worked out; or, rather, we should say, they are the incidents, circumstances or facts which impart form and life to the momentous issue, and with its decision they must rise or sink. Let us then not gaze so fixedly upon any particular limb, or feature, that we forget the individual; nor let us be so engrossed with the issue of Slavery in the Territories, for instance, that we lose sight of the overruling principle at hazard.

Of all the truths uttered by the history of mankind, no one is more emphatically stated, than that the struggles for power have been the most bitter and the most terrible. These have lashed the earth to its center and drenched its surface with blood. The mind, the heart, nay, the whole soul of man seem to have been stirred up in these contentions. Yet it is no less true, that they have been followed with wonderful benefits to the race of man. They have rent asunder iron-bound prejudices, broken down oppression, try ranny and injustice, and so swept away delusive opinions and false principles beneath which many have been hiding themselves as a breastplate of brass, that the heart has become softened and awakened to the benign and beneficent influences of truth. Let it not, therefore, be said that the

between the free and the slave-holding States can be brought to an end in a moment; or that it will be carried on without bitterness and wrath; or that it will not be followed by good fruits.

The institution of Slavery in the Southern States is an interest of such preëminent importance that it subjects all others to its welfare. A more powerful bond does not exist in the nation.

that which binds these States together. The free States have nothing like it. Their bonds of union are no other than such as attach them equally to the Southern States and to each other. The Southern States then, whose most valuable internal interest was, in its existence, at deadly hostility to all the noblest principles of humanity, united themselves to a confederacy which is based upon the broadest principles of freedom. Here is Scylla on the one hand, if not Charybdis on the other. No course was left to the slave-holding interest but to rule the confederacy as a slave-owning nation.

But our limits will permit us to notice only the great and leading source from which the slaveholding States derive their power and where they encounter assaults with the most envenomed desperation. Their great source of power consists in the manner in which Congress is constituted. The House of Representatives is equally represented as well by their masters; in the Senate, where the States are represented, the Southern States have preserved an equality between the representation from the free and the Slave States.

In apportioning the representation in Congress the free men are counted as equal to three white slaves. But by the census of 1840 the number of slaves was returned at 2,487,355;—they are therefore of equal weight in determining the

number of members of the House of Representatives with 1,492,433 free white persons. A representative apportionment of the House of Representatives to the addition made to the representative base of the slave-holding States in consequence of their slaves, is twenty-one members. This is equal to the entire representation of New England with its 1,492,433 free white persons. The free States of Ohio and Indiana send only twenty-one members, while Maryland sends only twenty-three members, which are just two more than the slaves send. The great States of Indiana, Illinois and Michigan together, send less than twenty-one members. The States of New York and Pennsylvania together, which will show what a prolific source of power the slave is to the slave-holding States, send less than the regulation is to the slave-holding interests of South Carolina by the last census had a free population of 267,339; this entitles her to three representatives, while the slave States of Virginia and North Carolina, with an entire population of 1,100,000, have left an overplus of 58,320, besides Rome and

while were awarded to her on the basis of her white population. Her slave population was 327,028. Three-fifths of these slaves was 196,222; this divided by 70,680, the ratio of representation, would give her two members, with a fraction. If she was in the House seven members, and must therefore have been awarded four members on the basis of her free population and three on the basis of her slaves. But the whole seven were elected by her free population if therefore we divide 267,360 by the number of members, it will be seen that in South Carolina there will be persons send a representative to Congress; while in the other States 70,680 persons elect a member. Thus the slave holding interest has nearly double the representation in the House that the same number of citizens of a free State have.

Florida by the last census, contained 57,474 persons; of whom 25,717 were slaves. The free population was therefore only 28,760, and yet Florida has a Representative in Congress and two Senators. In the Senate these 28,760 persons have as much political power as all the inhabitants of the largest State in the Union. If the State of New York sent a member to the House of Representatives for every 28,760 persons of her inhabitants, instead of having thirty-four members at present, she would have eighty-four.

It is the same with respect to the election of the President. Each State sends as many votes as it has Representatives and Senators. Congress give Florida with 28,760 free white persons five votes, while New York with 2,428,921 inhabitants at the last census gives only thirty

Take another view of the question of power. The population of 1,060,000 persons send one Representative to Congress. The number of persons in the State of New York is estimated at nearly 300,000. The persons therefore send twenty-one Representatives to Congress through their slaves. This is the proportion of one member to 14,285 persons in the aggregate, six New England States send not thirty-one members to the House; three Middle States sixty-three, and six Western Free States

one member sent on the score of slave representation and the number of members sent by the free States is not in the ratio of one to five. In other words, the fifteen free States send to the House one hundred and thirty-nine members, and the free population of the Slave-holding States send only thirty-nine members. The fifteen free States send thirty Senators, and the fifteen Slave-holding States send thirty Senators, in those hands is the scepter of the Union.

Now the proposition which at present agitates the country is, in effect, that there shall be no more extension of the Union; and consequently no more extension of slave representation; and, I might add, the transfer of the power of the nation into the hands of the free States.

Let it be observed that this is not a struggle for power between the people of one section of the Union and their brethren in another section of the Union; it is a struggle for the preservation of the Union and an interest existing in another section; and the end at present proposed is not the extinction of this interest, but its preservation.



Now, does any man doubt that here are the real, vital, distinguishing elements of two radically different governments—an Aristocracy and a Democracy? Does any one believe it possible that these respective tendencies should be confined, in the respective fields, to civil affairs? Will they not determine the family institution, the usages of society, public opinion, yea, the whole and very nature of communities? Can the

If the compromises of the Constitution include requirements which violate Humanity, I will not be bound by them. Not even the Constitution shall make me unjust. If my patriotic sires federated in my behalf that I should maintain that instrument, so I will, to the utmost bound of Night. But who, with power which even God denies to Himself, shall by compact force ordain me to the commission of inhumanity and injustice? I disown the act. I repudiate the obligation. Never while I have breath will I help any official misdeed in his base errand of robbing a fellow man for bondage. And man is my foot-pal, and my right hand forget her cunning. If I ever become so untrue to mercy and religion as not, by all the means in my power, to give aid and succor to every man whose courage's fight tells me that he is worthy of liberty.

We will compromise any measures tending to prevent the extension of Slavery. We will compromise as to the particulars of its death, laying out, and burial. But every compromise must include the advantage of Liberty and the disadvantage of Slavery. We will compromise with politicians, mean to serve a pinch in party tactics; compromises issuing from men whose idea of patriotism are summed up in giving their adversaries a grip and downfall, to whom spoils are virtues and offices religion; or whose better-intended compromises, like Mr. Clay's, which seek for peace, and safety for humanity; from such compromises, guileless though they seem, and glad till they shine like heaven, evermore may be delivered!

We shall abide by the Union. No vandal outrages shall our hands commit. We shall honor

[illegible]

The objection arising in the minds of Southern and Western men, from their unwillingness to use copper coin, is to be treated seriously and candidly, because it is a question of great importance to the country, that a new coinage may be created; an alloy of copper and silver, in pieces of three and two cents, prepared in such a manner as to be easily distinguished from the silver coin, and stamped with the seal of the United States, and stamped, when they shall be required under a penalty to be kept for sale at every Post-office, will completely supersede the necessity of using copper for change, and will be a great improvement on the present mode of issuing of unpaid postage just as it is, only making it uniform at 5 cents, or that those who choose to do their business in the old way, can be accommodated. We are not aware that any of our friends have yet proposed to our fellow-citizens of those sections which do not now pay for their own mails, that the inconvenience they ought to undergo and prevent the advantage which they will derive from cheap postage. J. J.

To the CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
The undersigned, citizens and electors of the State of \_\_\_\_\_,  
of \_\_\_\_\_, residing in \_\_\_\_\_, in the County of \_\_\_\_\_,  
\_\_\_\_\_ respectively pray that Slavery and the  
Slave Trade may be expressly prohibited by act of  
Congress in all the Territories of the United States.

CIRCULAR.

whose ear is open to every groan of the man-  
cled and tortured slave, let them fear at least the  
indignation of a betrayed and insulted people.

which we of the North expect from cheap postage.

... , respectfully pray that Slavery and the  
Slave Trade may be expressly prohibited by act  
of Congress in all the Territories of the United States

\_\_\_\_\_